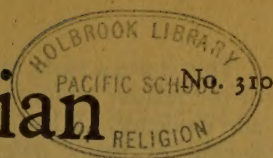


The Christian News-Letter

Edited by
KATHLEEN
BLISS



28th April, 1948

ON APRIL 14TH by a free vote of Parliament a clause to abolish capital punishment for an experimental period of five years was added to the Criminal Justice Bill by a narrow margin of 245 votes to 222. The vote followed on a debate of a very high order in which there were strong emotions and forceful arguments on both sides. It was a debate of conscience. The voting was instructive. For the clause most of the Labour back benchers, nearly all the Liberals, and fourteen Conservatives: against it the Government, which restrained all members of ministerial rank (about 50 in number) from voting for the clause, and the main body of Conservatives.

But before one jumps to the conclusion that Conservatives are anti-abolitionist and only somewhat hot-headed Labour back benchers are strong in favour of abolition, it is necessary to recall that in 1938 a Conservative House of Commons passed, with a small vote but by a larger majority than this, a motion introduced by a Conservative private member to suspend the death penalty for five years in time of peace. There were Christians in both lobbies, but it is perhaps worth noting that two of the three cabinet ministers who refrained from voting against the clause were Christians and that the motion was seconded in an able speech by Mr. Christopher Hollis, as staunch a member of the Roman Catholic church as he is of the Conservative Party.

NEWS-LETTER

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE U.S.A.

SUPPLEMENT

MR. MURRY ON THE FREE SOCIETY

BY

DONALD MACKINNON

This is not a party matter, but a matter of conscience, and of the relative weight given by different people to opinions and evidence. What emerges from the debate is the strong feeling of many members that capital punishment is a punishment unworthy of a civilized community, inflicting on those who have to carry it out, including all those who serve in prisons where persons sentenced to death are detained, a burden which they ought not to be asked to bear. The direction of the Criminal Justice Bill is towards the reforming aspect of punishment and if and when it is passed redoubled efforts will have to be made to recruit to the service the men suitable for the job. Failure to make an attempt to find a substitute for capital punishment would have been a flat contradiction to the main tenor of the Act ; and this failure would be something much more than a piece of legal untidiness : for retaining the death penalty means retaining the atmosphere it breeds and the officials who are willing to work in that atmosphere.

Public issues over which strong feelings are roused always produce a crop of epithets : this time it is " sentimentalists " and " realists ". Those who oppose abolition refer to themselves as the realists and to their opponents as sentimentalists. But the boot is sometimes on the other foot and it is the opponents of abolition who by refusing to admit the relevance of, or in some cases even to examine, evidence from the Dominions, the continent and some of the states of America, forfeit their claim to realism. It is the what-is-bound-to-happen-if-you-do type of mind which presents the reformer with his toughest problem. A hundred and fifty years ago 200 crimes were punishable by death and public men and notably judges opposed reform with prophecies of appalling outbreaks of violence. The most that reformers can do is to press forward always just a little in the van of public opinion, consolidating each legal gain with well-matched practical improvements. This is the point at which some disquiet about the amount of real moral ballast and sheer hard thinking behind the recent vote is justified. How many parents and teachers want to see their children become policeman or warders, and how often do their political

leaders give a thought to whether the home life or education or still more the general atmosphere in society of looking for the pleasant and easy job for the highest reward are producing the people who can turn their enthusiastically voted aspirations into solid reality?

The Home Secretary advanced as one reason against the clause the fact that public opinion was not ready for it. This might mean that public opinion still favours capital punishment but it would be more nearly true to say that public opinion is uninformed and therefore unformed. There is a truly astonishing contrast between the vast interest in crime, both fact and fiction, and the slender interest in punishment. One wonders how many of that large section of the intelligentsia for whom reading about crime is a refreshing relaxation have bothered to read the Criminal Justice Bill. The ban on the discussion over the radio of any controversial matter before the House of Commons is prompted by the understandable and right jealousy of Parliament of any alternative house of debate of large public issues. But silence the radio, and there is left only the scanty columns of the press to present these great issues to the country at times when they are burning issues, which are the only times when most people take an interest in them! The House of Lords has an important opportunity of elucidating a number of points when the Criminal Justice Bill arrives in the Upper House.

Behind the prevailing ignorance, which can easily degenerate either into vindictiveness or into softness, is a great deal of puzzlement. The psychologists and sociologists have been steadily pushing a new question to the fore for years past—the question WHY people commit the crimes they do. The answers have pointed to the social causes of crime—poverty, bad housing—to the connection between criminal tendencies—to the medical causes in psychological unbalance, and all these are factors for which the individual criminal can only in very small measure be held personally responsible. The great question is how full weight can be given to these factors in crime and therefore in punishment

without impairing the solid sense of personal responsibility by each man for his own action, without which the very fabric of society is endangered.

THE CHURCHES AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

Among recent visitors to this country from the United States is Dr. Cameron Hall, who has recently been appointed by the Federal Council of Churches in America as executive secretary of the Council's Department on the Church in Economic Life. He has come to look at social and economic conditions in this country and the work of the Churches in relation to them.

The work which Dr. Hall will be doing is made possible by a new initiative among laymen in the Churches of the United States. The growing political responsibilities of the United States in world affairs, the vital importance of maintaining economic stability and a high level of production at home in order to fulfil her heavy commitments abroad, have brought to many men an enhanced sense of the responsibility to act as Christians in the secular order. At the same time many Christian laymen are eager to play a larger part in guiding the policy of the Churches towards national and international affairs: the voice of the Churches on these matters has too often been the voice of the ordained ministry and in action on political and economic matters by the Churches idealism has not always been joined to practical competence.

The first moves have taken place within the denominations. An example of this is in the Presbyterian Church, one of the strongest Churches in the United States. A few years ago a few laymen in high positions raised the whole question of the place of the layman in the life of the Church. The General Assembly appointed a Commission of laymen which produced a report to the General Assembly, an admirable statement of lay thinking which was enthusiastically received and adopted. The Commission was asked to continue and recently decided to propose that the General

Assembly set up, within the organization of the Church, a body to promote a programme for the laymen. The Congregational Church has also recently set up a new work of and by laymen with a full-time secretary, himself a layman, and other somewhat similar examples could be quoted from other Churches of this stirring among laymen. The Federal Council of Churches has reflected and developed this new concern at the interdenominational level.

In February, 1947, the Council convened at Pittsburgh a National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life. Nearly all the 350 delegates were appointed by the denominations, two-thirds were laymen, and of them over half held responsibility in one of the four major economic groups—agriculture, business, consumers and labour. The Conference attracted widespread interest and the experiment laid bare both the opportunity and the pitfalls which confront the Church in a field where radical differences of view make for hot controversy.

The method of the Pittsburgh Conference was within the reach of Councils of Churches on state and city levels. An outcome has been a series of "little Pittsburghs" following the general pattern of the National Conference, but focussing Christian thinking on economic issues and conditions within the area where each conference is held. Most of the conferences last for a week-end, and the great majority of delegates are drawn from economic life. Since last October eight conferences have been held—Boston, Buffalo, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Wilkes-Barre, Pa, and Flint, Michigan, and many others are planned.

Another outcome of the Pittsburgh Church Conference was the re-forming of the scope and membership of the work in this field by the Federal Council of Churches, formerly called the Industrial Relations Division. It has been reconstituted as the Department of Economic Life in order to bring in agriculture and other provinces of economic life along with the industrial.

About a quarter of the forty-two members are prominent ecclesiastical leaders and theologians; three-quarters are

men who occupy a place in the life of their Churches and at the same time are leaders in their secular occupations. The list of members very clearly shows how many men of affairs are closely associated with the Churches. Among the business men are Mr. Paul Hoffman, recently named as Marshall Aid Administrator by President Truman, Mr. Eric Johnston, head of the Moving Picture Industry, Mr. Chester Barnard, President of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, soon to become President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Mr. Noel Sargent, acting executive Vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers. From the labour movement come Mr. Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers Union (probably the largest union in the world), and Mr. Van Bittner, assistant to the President; both are in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Mr. Boris Shiskin is Director of Research and Information of the American Federation of Labour and Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters also of the A.F.L. From agriculture the presidents of the three National Farm Organizations are members of the Department. The Department is particularly strong in its economists, among whom are Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard University, Professor Theodore Schultz, the University of Chicago, and Dr. William Adams Brown, Junior, the Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C. In addition there are Department members from journalism, social welfare and law, and a member of Congress.

The Department is still finding out what its method of work should be. A main task is advice to the Churches on economic and social matters. It has also set to work to collect and make available the best information obtainable on various economic matters, and it has kept a keen eye on the necessity of conducting its discussions in a way that a local group could with modifications emulate.

A note on laymen's work should at least mention the Laymen's Movement for a Christian World. It differs radically from the above in that it is voluntary and unofficial, instituted wholly by a number of laymen themselves. It

has a membership of some six or seven hundred, and some of its best work has been bringing together in private conferences Christian employers and Christian labour leaders.

SOME ORCHIDS FOR MISS LEJEUNE

A small group of hardworking people who guide public opinion in an important matter ought at this moment to be receiving the blessings of all who care for public decency and good art and are distressed to see either dragged in the mud. They are the film critics. The maturity, sense of responsibility and wit which they retain makes them an island of sanity in an ocean of ballyhoo. Nor is it only the critics in the highbrow papers who are like this. The indomitable Miss Lejeune of *The Observer* is only the leader of a faithful band. Recent weeks have seen two notable examples of the work they do. One has been their scalding comments on "No Orchids for Miss Blandish". Even the *News of the World* spoke out manfully on this subject. It was a pity that no church body made the fuss that should have been made about the book and the play which long preceded the recent film; but the fact was, as one reviewer in a frank exposure of what is actually described in the novel said, that very few people have sufficient knowledge of sexual perversion to understand what was being said. The powers of the British Film Industry seem to be falling over themselves to fill up any gaps in the plain man's knowledge of vice, lust and morbidity, an incomparable disservice to the nation at this time and a dirty smear on its good name abroad.

The other has been the sympathy and discrimination of their comments on an American film about the life of our Lord, "The Great Commandment." How wide an influence the critics have on the judgment of the cinema-going public is unknown, but no one can deny that at present they are doing their job skilfully and with a clear eye for artistic and moral standards.

THE SUPPLEMENT

A number of our readers will have read Mr. Middleton Murry's book on the Free Society,¹ in which he develops

¹ *The Free Society* by John Middleton Murry. Andrew Dakers, 12s. 6d.

much further a line of argument which he outlined in a C.N-L. Supplement, No. 284. The book has made some people angry and left many people perplexed: that is because it deals with matters of supreme importance, with a burning sense that action has to be taken. Mr. Murry is one of those people who would rather take up a position and state it very forcefully even at the risk of being proved wrong than shilly-shally in procrastinating indecision. In the Editorial Board and among the News-Letter's friends and contributors the book has been hotly debated. Donald MacKinnon, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, contributes the Supplement to this issue.

Kathleen Bliss

P.S. The editor made strenuous efforts to reply personally to the letters which came in response to the announcement of the necessity of raising the subscription, but there were too many letters for individual replies to be possible. We are greatly encouraged by the gifts and the warm words, and equally so for the suggestions for improvement which came. We are also grateful to those who are not subscribers but have copies handed on to them by friends, who sent small sums to our office by direct or indirect means. It is not going to be at all easy to maintain our circulation at the new price, and new subscribers will always be welcome.

MR. MURRY ON THE FREE SOCIETY

DEAR EDITOR,

You ask me my reactions to Murry's new book. Well, as you would expect, they are rather various.

There is no getting away from the fact that the book is one of first-rate importance. It is a tract for the times, embodying a most serious and sustained attempt to express and to interpret a number of ideas that are beginning to take shape in people's minds. It reveals in a striking way at once the precariousness and the greatness of our western heritage, and at the same time discloses a real awareness of present and future realities. At first reading the author leaves the idea of freedom rather vague, but a deeper study of his work coupled with some reference to the recent Riddell lectures of Professor Michael Polanyi shows that Murry, like Polanyi, is concerned with the criticism and reinterpretation of that most elusive of social ideas. Murry's "free society" is not just the old liberal society. He is in fact most concerned with something which still lives in the future, albeit something with whose promise present and past are full.

There is a further reason why Christians in particular should read this book. It is a call to them to examine themselves in respect of the depth of their concern for the world around them. Murry's writing is contemporary but it is full in the tradition of those who deny that we can sever political consciousness and responsibility from the fulfilment of our most intimate moral obligations. Like the nineteenth century idealists in whose following, perhaps unconsciously, he stands, he is concerned to break down as far as possible the gulf fixed between the private conscience of the individual, and the institutions of organized society, insisting that the latter must somehow be converted into the effective expression of the former. The significance of the free society as something already present lies in the extent to which in it this conversion has been achieved: its importance for present and future is the fact that in it alone this conversion can be indefinitely extended.

THE WAR TO COMPEL AGREEMENT

No one can read the book without recognizing the courage the author has shown in abandoning his widely advertized attitude to war and the strength of the argument that has led to this change of outlook. He has abandoned pacifism for two reasons :

(a) because if the free society sets itself as its dominant objective the avoidance of war at any cost, every moral value will be forfeit :

(b) because unless something along the lines of an *Atomic Development Authority* can be established, fear will soon make life intolerable : a sterility will descend that will destroy the possibility of that cultural advance on which the life of the "free society" depends, in which in effect it exists. (So too, Lewis Mumford in the *Changing World*, No. 2 : although Mumford also points out that Russia is exceptionally well-placed to resist attempts by the use of atomic weapons to bring her to her senses.) From this Murry argues that the West ought to challenge Russia to a showdown : the war which might come would be different from all other wars—a "war to abolish war," in his own phrase.

Murry insists (pp. 36 f.) that war "has ceased to be a rational method of seeking peace between nations. It belongs to an epoch that is past for ever. The rational way to abolish war is to establish a world authority whose decisions shall replace the arbitrament of war : if that is prevented by the contumacy of any single nation, or combinations of nations, the only rational way to abolish war is to prepare to wage it against the offending nation".

Now I think some of his readers may well hesitate to follow Murry here in his implied suggestion that war can be used to compel submission to a world authority. Granted that such a war could perhaps deserve to be called defensive, it would still be an undertaking fraught with the most appalling dangers. Leaving out of account questions raised by the nature of modern warfare (its consequences are becoming more and more sharply uncontrollable), there is the further question of the moral dangers involved in such a cause. To Murry the decision by the free societies to "compel them to come in" (to use his own phrase)

surely contains graver possibilities than he recognizes. Granted that he attaches moral worth to the *decision* and not to the *war* in which it may tragically issue, we can still question whether the two can thus be separated. As Kant pointed out, to will the end is to will the means to that end. And if we are to find our moral and spiritual renewal as a society in a decision, we must, I submit, attend to what it is that by that decision we are committed to *doing*—viz. the use of the atomic bomb, bacteriological warfare, etc. If the free society is conceived as “finding itself” morally in such a decision, we must ask whether it will not necessarily be tainted by the content of the decision. To use even the methods of modern warfare as a last resort is one thing: to make in a mood of exultation the decision to use them, if necessary, seems to me quite another.

One cannot question the cost of Murry’s renunciation of his pacifism. But it must be pointed out that if reflection on contemporary events has driven Murry to reject pacifism, others perhaps not so far behind him in awareness have found themselves driven in an opposite direction. One cannot dismiss lightly the growing disquiet of Christians of all communions over the readiness of their spokesmen to accept anything and everything on the grounds, e.g. that “there are worse evils than war”, and that “when war comes, nothing can be barred”. I agree that there are worse evils than war: but as you know, I am profoundly uncertain whether atomic and bacteriological war can be called war at all. And I am also fairly clear that whatever may be said on the political irrelevance of pacifism, the pacifist protest as such against the thing that war is becoming, or has become, is potentially politically relevant. One who lays the stress that Murry does on the moral import of the life of organized society must surely admit this.

So much then for Murry’s change of view. What of his political attitude in general? Certainly this book is one of the most provocative and the most subtle studies in political *theory* I have read in years. But that perhaps is the rub: it is a study in political *theory*, that sits much too lightly by detailed familiarity with the day to day workings and the day to day life of our society.

Take Communism for instance. Now it is abundantly true that much which has happened since this book was written has underlined a great deal that Murry says. Events in Czechoslovakia have focussed our attention on just those evils in Communist method and practice that Murry so eloquently denounces. But for all that Murry's Communism is the thing of the writer, the intellectual. It is engaged at the level of ideas. All the time, for all the spiritual intensity of his writing, you find yourself willy-nilly asking yourself whether the thing can ever look like this to the man at the factory bench. He may have no patience with the antics of the Communist Party in this country : but it does not follow from that that he will not see events in Eastern Europe and in Russia itself from a rather different perspective. And with that perspective we must surely reckon.

There is no getting away from the fact that this book gives the impression of impatience with the social and political behaviour and judgment of the working class. In spite of the author's manifest concern for economic equality, one can't escape the impression that he is out of sorts with the Trade Unions and the working classes generally for not seeing the issues of the hour as he sees them. Now I am more and more convinced that Murry is a prophet to whom we *must* listen : but for all that we must never forget that the prophet is of all men perhaps the most tempted to impatience, to unreadiness to bear with men in the rough. And it is of course just to that bearing that the free society calls us ; for in it part of its characteristic discipline is found. Murry is contradicting his own fundamental premises if he will not allow a far greater measure of validity than he does to working-class estimates of the realities of the situation he is analysing. The issues of the present are not simple : some of the choices with which men are faced are not between black and white, but between different shades of gray. Where France for instance is concerned, there is much to fear from de Gaulle as well as from Thorez.

The theorist and prophet are always tempted to translate actual human conflicts into terms of the more manageable conflicts of ideas, and where political judgment is concerned, this can lead to sheer disaster. Yet the experience of the Spanish Civil War should surely have shown us how deadly it is to build

one's political attitudes on a foundation of anti-Communism, especially where the Communism one is opposing is so often something made in the image of one's own fear, and not the complex social reality with which one must reckon. It is of the very essence of democracy to thrust continually on our attention the problem of the use of power. And it is from this problem that those whose political attitudes are determined by ideal considerations would gladly run away. The champion of the "free society" could easily to-day be betrayed almost unconsciously into an endorsement of the policies of the most destructive authoritarianism.

THE FATE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE FATE OF THE FREE SOCIETY

Murry writes as if he were giving to the "free society" an absolute metaphysical significance which many of those who share his fundamental judgment on the present scene, would be unwilling to give. This becomes clearest when he discusses its relation to Christianity. For Murry the fate of Christianity is involved in the fate of the "free society". He argues that only within such a society can we conceive the possibility of rational assent such as is involved in the Christian act of faith. If I am following his extremely delicate logic aright here he is saying that with the collapse of the "free society" there goes the possibility of that kind of self-critical reflection through which alone man can discern meaning in the seemingly meaningless. Such a collapse would therefore constitute a final rejection of Christ.

Here it seems to me that Murry is quite simply wrong. After all as a matter of historical fact some great chapters in the long story of Christian sanctity have been, and are being, written in societies definitely not free. The Spain of the Inquisition was also the Spain of Teresa of Avila, and of John of the Cross. Again Murry would hardly allow India to-day to be an approximation to his "free society": yet the Church in India is surely alive. Again one cannot simply write off the Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe and in Russia to-day, as Murry implies we must. No Christian in speaking of the meaning of history dare neglect that paramount significance may belong ultimately to what has passed unnoticed and unrecorded: to the contemporary

the crucifixion of Jesus was insignificant compared with the murder of Julius Caesar some seventy years before.

Theologically, of course, Murry has simply added his name to the long roll of those who have subordinated the person of Christ to "the Christian principle". For the Christian it is *in the person of Christ* that meaning is found. And therefore it is most grievously wrong to write of faith as if it were intellectual acceptance of a principle (even if backed by the moral will). Certainly I hope that more and more Christians will learn to see from Murry, in the rhythm of the "free society" a refraction of the fundamental patterns of Christian living (the processes of critical, dialectical politics, etc.). But it is the Christ who is Lord: and if St. Luke reminds us that "the common people heard him gladly", St. Mark will not let us forget that the centurion confessed him Son of God, when he was speechless and dead, the mere pale echo of a man upon the Cross.

Do you see what I am saying? Christianity will never let us twist the Person who *is* the Way, the Truth and the Life into an idea or principle. At least, if we do, we are certainly reminded that "He is not here, he is risen". Or if like Mary Magdalene, we try to cling to him as if he were only *our* possession the answer comes: "Touch me not . . . I ascend unto My Father and your Father, unto My God and your God." *He is not our property as our ideas are.*

MEANING IS GIVEN TO HISTORY BY CHRIST

To the Christian the meaning of history is not something that emerges from within history as events come and pass but something that is perennially being given in Christ to history.¹ The Cross is the act of impartation of meaning to history, of meaning to the Communist's struggle for social justice as much as to the Conservative's concern that the achievement of centuries shall not lightly be cast away. And where men and women, in humility and faith, strive to make that meaning the sense of their own lives too, we are perhaps nearest to the centre of history.

The man who will not receive meaning as something given, may of course deny that it is there. Such is the attitude of the nihilist who in Nietzsche's phrase, recognizes an absolute gulf

¹ Cf. Sibyl Harton's comment on the XIth Station (Jesus is nailed to the Cross) "Thou art become all one pleading for us", *The Way of the Cross*. Mowbray, 1947. 1s. 6d.

between the "ought" of aspiration and the "is" of actuality, and who perhaps abandons himself to the cult of power. Or else he may find in history a pattern faintly traced and give himself without reserve to shaping history anew in the image of that pattern so that its processes shall disclose it more and more clearly. Such seems to me to be Murry's attitude. For him the "free society" as he has found it in our history, and interpreted it in his mind, *is* the meaning of history, the very goal of Christianity itself. But by his argument he as much as the Communist is plunged into idolatry. For he will not see that what ultimately Christianity speaks of is not an absolute made by man, but an act of God declaring and effecting that the meaning of history shall be found not in human achievement but in His love. I am mortally afraid that Murry will not understand this, that it may seem to him mere evasion, mere withdrawal into the comfortable securities of speculative theology.

But is it? As I understand it, the Christian attitude to politics at its deepest has always insisted both on the significance and importance of political activity, and at the same time on the fact that it is in his relation to Christ that the deepest sense of a man's life lies. Man in all his activities lives on the frontier of the temporal and the eternal. You cannot possibly understand political activity if you see it simply as concerned with, e.g. the maintenance of some kind of quasi-mechanical order or discipline: in the realities of political life, as also others, men have found what it is to be made in the image of God. Thus Murry is profoundly right to insist that to-day we must take seriously politics, and democratic politics as politics *par excellence*, as a fact belonging to the spiritual life of man.

But what we have to ask ourselves is whether Murry sees how easily man is by his very spirituality tempted to idolatry, and the making of God in his own image. If Christian thought has been on edge in the presence of political idealism and has so obstinately issued warnings of idealism's almost inevitable lapse into cruelty, it is not because the Christian denies that politics is a spiritual fact: it is because in politics as elsewhere men are ever tempted to make gods after their own devising.

Now Christian thought has always insisted that it is in and through Christ alone that this continual impulse towards self-

deification, whether at the level of individual or collective achievement, is overcome. In the very weakness of Christ we trace the image of a perfect receptivity: and in our relation to him which is the deepest meaning of our lives, we know that we have touched a point of absolute dependence, where we are unable to do more than receive. There and there alone are we set free from the sin of idolatry.

All this may seem to Murry remote and certainly I wish I could make it clearer. But it seems to me that where Christian life is concerned to-day, more and more are coming to see that what is costing is not simply the making of basic decisions, but rather the living simultaneously in a state of urgent concern with the contemporary scene and in a state of ever deeper awareness that it is only in Christ that the sense of life, personal and collective, is found. Let go the former concern, and one has substituted a nice religious piety for authentic Christianity: let go the latter, and one will be tempted to measure significance by human standards, and ultimately judge the weakness of the Cross, the power of God, not in itself but by its visible results. We are all of us continually tempted either in effect to follow the Communist in seeking to harness every sanctity, even the Christ himself, to the service of human ends, or else to abandon the struggle and retire to our own ivory towers.

The Christian to-day must be the man who "knows on his pulses" just this tension: not always, of course, in the same way. Mercifully the articulate Christian intellectuals are in a minority! But it is perhaps where such tension is affirmed not simply in word but in action that the meaning of history is most clearly seen.

Ever yours,

DONALD MacKINNON.

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